1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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The Klamath numbered 3000 in the historic period, the Modoc not so many. This is the testimony of Tom Lang, yet the number is much too large. Palmer[18] put their number at 415 in thirteen villages in 1854, but his list of villages indicates that he counted only the ǩ'ukckni (Klamath marsh) division. This would be about eighty-three families, a reasonable average of six houses to a settlement. At the time, however, the Klamath were said to be considerably reduced, and I was told of twenty-nine or more ǩ'ukckni settlements dating from this period, and said to be all occupied at the time. Yet, as no great epidemic was reported, it is doubtful that the population had been diminished by half. Possibly the occupation of the sites was more seasonal than I was told: a movement to Klamath marsh in summer, returning to the warmer Williamson valley in winter. Assuming a partial reduction and some fluctuating occupation, we may arbitrarily set the ǩ'ukckni at half as many again, say 600. The ǩ'ukckni settlements numbered half of the total and my informants' impression was that in population they were as many as all the other divisions together. This would mean that the Klamath as a whole numbered only 1200. Palmer's figure would give a mere 800, and the evidence of the settlements, a possible 2000. Our twelve hundred is not far from that of Kroeber, who set the combined Klamath and Modoc population at 2000, two-thirds of them being Klamath.[19] Mooney's estimate of 800 seems low.[20]

Early Contacts with the Whites

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Contacts with the whites date back to 1825 or somewhat earlier. In 1826–27 Peter Ogden spent two months among the Klamath.[21] His first meeting with them seems to have been on Klamath marsh.

> Wednesday, 30th Nov. [1826]. Course south to Clammitt River [Klamath marsh?] 25 miles from River of the Falls [Deschutes]. Mr. McKay proceeded ahead to an Indian village distant 3 miles. It was composed of 20 tents built on the water approachable only by canoes, the tents built of large logs shaped like block houses the foundation stone or gravel made solid by piles sunk 6 ft. deep. Their tents are constantly guarded. They regretted we had opened a communication from the mountains. They said "The Nez Percés have made different attempts to reach our village but could not succeed. Even last summer we discovered a war party of Cayuse and Nez Percés in search of us; but they did not find us. Now they will have yr. road to follow. We have no fire arms. Still we fear them not.

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[18] Quoted by Gatschet, 1:lviii.
[19] Kroeber, Handbook, 320.
[20] Mooney, Aboriginal Population, 18.
[21] Elliott, Ogden Journals, 210.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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101 occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of
619 any sharp geographic division, rivers or ranges, such as we should expect to figure in political separatism. There are only three or four miles of open, unoccupied country between the middle Williamson river group and that at the river mouth, for instance, or between the latter and the northernmost outposts of the Klamath falls people about Modoc point. The cases of doubtful divisions really stress this point. Kowa'edi on the lake shore may belong with the middle Williamson division; though only three miles away over a low range of hills, it is somewhat isolated. Similarly the Sprague river settlements toward Yainax, usually included in the same group, are in quite a different district.

• 721 The third feature pointing to their separatism is the frequent feuds
619 between them. It is quite clear that these involve the tribelets; they
[171] never occur between the settlements of a single division. The point will be clearer if we contrast Yurok sentiments. There feuds are between the towns or with only a group of kinsmen within a town, and at most when several towns are involved in a joint cause, it appears rather that kinsmen and their friends have been drawn in.[84]

[567] Further, feuds are carried on much as warfare with foreigners; property is destroyed, women and children enslaved. Such slaves can be retained indefinitely or sold again. We may wonder however if they are not restored when a settlement is bought, or at most retained only to even the score in lives.

The identity of these groups resolves itself solely into such aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns
[624] are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large part a body of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole.

115 Only one informant, Pat Kane, suggested dialectic and cultural
197 differentiation. The dialect groupings he gave are purely geographic.
184 He also assigned shamanistic tricks, medical practices, and games to the several divisions, which all other informants emphatically denied. I could observe no linguistic differences and Gatschet recorded none.

000 The subdivisions or tribelets are:

[84] Kroeber, Handbook, 49.

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WARFARE AND FEUDS

721 Klamath warfare is deserving of the name in contrast to the conflicts of the northern Californian tribes. Raids are carried into foreign parts for plunder, slaves, and revenge, and received in turn. No single town or tribelet is alone concerned: warriors are drawn [171] from the Klamath at large. This is in marked contrast to the Yurok and their neighbors, e.g., whose foreign wars seem but an extension of the private quarrels that set town against town, and in which the large body of Yurok may remain neutral. Warfare is here not mere retaliation, murder for murder, but is engendered by patriotic motive and tangible benefits.

There can be little doubt that the Klamath attitude is due to their contact with tribes of warlike habit to the north and east. Raids from that direction had to be met and countered. The interesting circumstance is that the Pit river people were under a similar compulsion but apparently made no effort to cope with the raids by reciprocating. So far as I can learn they never ventured against the Klamath despite their equivalence or even superiority of numbers. The cause for the difference seems to be that the Klamath had reason to raid; slaves and [437] plunder were important to them. There was a market for these [231] articles at the Dalles with much-coveted horses to be had in return. [619] The Achomawi had no such outlet. I would not underestimate the difference in tribal solidarity, which may have been entirely lacking among the Achomawi, but the suggestion is that such solidarity may in this instance be a function of a common cause against a common enemy. The Klamath had their share of internecine warfare.

648 Besides the close bond with the Modoc, normally friendly relations are maintained with the Molala across the Cascades, the Wătă'nkni (Warm Springs people) of the Deschutes, and the Wishram-Wasco 648 at the Dalles. Warfare is directed toward all other directions. Raids are exchanged with the Shasta several days' journey down the Kla- 721 math river, the Upland Takelma on the Rogue river, and the Northern [231] Paiute (Snake) of the desert to the east. The Klamath fight the Kalapuya and take horses from the Warm Springs Indians.[99] Since horses were obtained by them, raids may be expected of the Ya'mŏkni two hundred or more miles away; northerners generically, but in this

[99] Gatschet, 1:18.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

connection the Sahaptins of the Columbia and the Cayuse seem meant.[56] Both Ya'mĕkni and Shasta made slaves among the Klamath. How infrequent were these raids may be judged by the circumstance that my informants independently mentioned the half-dozen recorded years ago by Gatschet, and no others.

The Pit river people, possibly only the Achomawi, may alone be raided with impunity. Reciprocity on their part would lead them only into the intervening territory of the hostile Modoc, who may well have served the Klamath as a buffer. For their part the Klamath were stimulated by the lucrative traffic in slaves established with the Columbia river tribes, and the majority of captives were by all accounts Pit river people. Gatschet writes of these raids as a regular occurrence. "In April and May the Klamath Lakes and Modocs would surround the camps, kill the men, and abduct the women and children to their homes, or sell them into slavery at the international bartering place at The Dalles"; and again, "the Lake men enslaved many every spring time."[57] To be sure, consonant with Kroeber's view,[58] raiding was undoubtedly accelerated by the appearance of the horse in the north. Contacts were then more rapid, and the beast itself became an important and desirable article to possess. But there can be no doubt that the practice of taking slaves on Pit river was already established. This is not only implied in the informants' statements, but it must be kept in mind that slaves were an important element in the society of the Wishram, Wasco, and their down-river neighbors. This means that the Klamath were not only turning to slave-taking as a lucrative traffic, but that slave-holding as indicative of social distinction was becoming their habit by imitation.[59]

How frequently the Klamath made war as a whole is unknown. It seems doubtful that concerted action was frequent. Perhaps large-

[56] Henry Rosier, an old settler, told me of such a raid up the Deschutes about 1876.

[57] *Op. cit.*, 1:lix, 19.

[58] Handbook, 319.

[59] While the Klamath do not distinguish among the Pit river peoples raided, Kniffen's recent account of the Achomawi (Achomawi Geography) makes it clear that Klamath and Modoc descended most frequently on Achomawi settlements north of the Pit and also crossed it to Atsugewi territory in Hat Creek and Dixie valleys. The Achomawi proper about Fall river were subject to continual attack; the Hewisedawi, south of Goose lake, and the Astariwawi, near them on the Pit, bore the brunt. The Atsugewi divisions, Atsuge (Hat creek) and Aporige (Dixie valley), were also freely raided. The Atwamsini, on the middle Pit, and the Kosalektawi, on the extreme headwaters of the river, were reached much less frequently. The other groups of Achomawi were free from attack probably by reason of their inaccessibility; the Ilmawi, Itsatawi, and Madesi at the western end of their range, and the Hammawi on the extreme east.

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721 [619] [567] scale expeditions were undertaken only after the slave traffic was established on an extensive scale. On one occasion at least all the chiefs were at a dance preparatory to going to war: this implies that all the tribelets were engaged. All the tribelets joined similarly in a raid for revenge against the Upland Takelma. It is said that the Klamath marsh division (ă'ukekni), by far the largest group, always extended the invitation for war, but I doubt that this is literally so. It is true that they led in aggressions just prior to reservation days, but this seems because of the initiative of their chief Lɛle'ks, the most prominent ever known, who was singularly interested in the slave trade for his personal advantage.

726 628 Internecine warfare is probably as significant as that with foreigners, for quarrels and blood feuds are quite common. Feuds exist between the several subdivisions, not within them, evincing a solidarity which but rarely extends to the tribe. Thus the du'kwakni of the mouth of Williamson river are known to have taken action against members of each of the four other divisions, even the gu'mbŏtkni of Pelican bay with whom they are closely linked. There are cases of reciprocated action by each of the five against the others indiscriminately. Yet Pat Kane stated that the lesser divisions avoided conflict with the ă'ukekni. Yet there is the case of his own people, du'kwakni, fighting with an ă'ukekni settlement. Nancy Phillips said it was true that she knew of no cases involving gu'mbŏtkni or iu"lalo,kni (southern lake people) with ă'ukekni, but this does not mean they would not fight. I think it hardly likely that the others are awed by the numbers of the ă'ukekni, for the feuds are essentially between groups of relatives alone. Yet others besides relatives might be induced to join.

721 628 A characteristic circumstance initiating a feud is the murder of a man residing with a wife of another tribelet. Ten or twenty of his male relatives take canoe and demand the delivery of the murderer or satisfaction from his relatives in the form of women, slaves, beads, dentalia, etc. The parley (ndĕ'na) is held from a safe distance at the top of their voices. Instead of acceding, the offenders may offer fight. But an effort is usually made to reach an agreement by offering payment. They may forestall retaliation by dispatching as a go-between (gaḳŏ'ḳwa) a relative of the offended group who is paid for his trouble, a canoe, a shirt, net, skin armor, or a woman's dress. If they have neither women nor money to offer, they give nets, weapons, anything, even to the last things they have. If no amicable adjustment can be reached they resort to fight. Even though the score be evened

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by the death of several on each side, the feud continues until payment is made. Continued feuds prove disastrous, for retaliation is carried out with all the intensity and destructiveness of a foreign war. Villages are attacked at dawn, houses and property destroyed, women and children carried away into slavery.

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A chief may intervene; so I was told, though I doubt it. Chiefs do accompany parleying parties and other men may echo their words. Beyond that there seems to be nothing to their position but personal prestige which has been enhanced by developments since reservation days. Lɛle'ks and his successors among the ă'ukekni seem to have made much of their position. Pat's father and Te·l'wi, both du'kwakni, killed a iu"lalonɛ man at stŏ'kmate, Eagle Point. They were taken to Klamath marsh and each beaten five times at the order of this chief. This was in pre-reservation days, or at least prior to the establishment of the agency in 1864 (?). Nevertheless this is not aboriginal, but, according to Nancy Phillips, these "laws" were brought by her cousin from the north.

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The group that owes recompense, having lost fewer men, goes to the other offering payment to even the score. The value of a man's life is not a fixed item, as it is for the lower Klamath river tribes; this despite the similarity of marriage payment and the slur on children not born of a purchased mother. My informants professed ignorance of what should be paid, yet it can hardly be doubted that recompense accorded with a man's wealth and prestige.

Children who are captured are kept; settling the score does not mean that they are restored, though this may well be only in case they have been sold. Their fate depends on their captors, who may elect to rear them as their own children. More commonly they are miserably treated, made to sleep with the dogs, fetch water, etc., and beaten if they are lazy. They are as quickly sold at Warm Springs and the Dalles as are foreign captives. With the latter at least there is an advantage in immediately disposing of them, that they do not grow up to carry back to their own people precise knowledge of the habits and topography of the Klamath world.

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Kŏ'kdiŋks of du'kwa was a chief (lŏ'ki) in warfare. He would tell his tribesmen to get ready to fight with the iu"laloŋkni, for instance. He was always in the forefront of battle. When a youth he went out to seek power by bathing and wandering through the mountains at night. His mother had told him that long before those of iu"laloŋ had slain his father, Lĕ"l'wis, a du'kwa shaman accused of poisoning one of them. He wanted to become a warrior to have

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

159 701 721 revenge. While he was swimming in deep water at du'kwa he found a human leg in his grasp; it had been given him by the ghosts.[40] Then he became "mean," revengeful, and led his people down the lake to iu"laloɣE for vengeance.

He grew aggressive and attacked gu'mbŏt, kowa'edi, and other towns. He was a hard man to hit; they could not kill him in open battle. His du'kwakni band went up Williamson river to the ă'ukekni town at bɛzûkse'was. Before the fight opened, Po'moks, an ă'ukekni from far up Sprague river, came to him and announced that he would join him. Kŏ'ḳdiḷks agreed because he was a relative. During the battle Po'moks slipped behind Kŏ'ḳdiḷks and shot him. That was the only way they could best him; since then there has been no feud with du'kwa.

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Quite in accord with Klamath custom, Kŏ'ḳdiḷks band was accompanied by a du'kwa shaman named čḳts'aa. When one of his side was shot, this shaman ran to him, extracted the arrow, and sucked the wound.

726 Pat's uncle of gu'mbŏt and Nancy's father of du'kwa went to iu"laloɣE where they killed a man.

Some gu'mbŏt men went to Buck island and killed a man there. Immediately a party followed them back and killed a man at gu'mbŏt.

A brave man from du'kwa lived at gu'mbŏt. The gu'mbŏtkni traveled with him to kill iu"laloɣkni, ă'ukekni, and kowa'edikni. He stole women everywhere, carrying them to gu'mbŏt as his wives. He tried to kill some gu'mbŏt men whom he accused of tampering with them, but they dispatched him. After he was cremated all these women returned to their homes.

An attack might be expected at any time. The Upland Takelma (Ha'nis or Wa'lûmskni), for instance, raid the Williamson river district. Crossing by the ridges south of Crater lake, they travel down the ridge separating that river from Klamath lake. From this eminence they can see the smokes of a large part of Klamath territory. Gatschet describes such a raid, plausibly dating it between 1848 and 1855.[41]

175 726 The Takelma descended on bɛzûkse'was in the middle Williamson valley at salmon fishing time. Most of the warriors were away at Klamath marsh to welcome some northern Indians. Crossing the river the Takelma attacked at dawn, killing a few old people, but they were put to rout by the fierce onslaught of but five cuirassed Klamath, men of nilûksi, the Modoc Point district. They were pursued by the whole force of Klamath, hastily summoned from the marsh. Some escaped, others were found dead of starvation or wounds where they had hidden in the mountains.

Five old women were once left behind at Klamath marsh to gather lily seeds. They brought their canoes down to the falls, as far as they could go. All they could not carry they buried there to leave through the winter. A Paiute lurking on the opposite bank followed them down to the falls. He killed all five with his arrows. When their relatives found them overdue, they went to search. The Paiute, having stayed in the neighborhood to steal horses, was tracked and killed.[42]

[40] So my informant said, but she surely meant spirits.

[41] The Klamath Indians, 1:16–18.

[42] Gatschet records a similar Paiute raid on Williamson river or perhaps the same (1:28).

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Northern Paiute NR13

The topography directs Shasta attacks against southern settlements. Coming by the open country along the Klamath river, they attack iwau'wōnɛ at Klamath Falls, sometimes swimming the river there. Or they cross by the little island to the south to surprise the settlement on the east bank. Many years ago a large body of Ya'mökkni, northerners, descended on the Klamath on Sycan marsh in the northeastern corner of their territory. These may have been marauding bands of Shoshoni and Bannock, fought by the soldiery of Fort Klamath in the summer of 1864.[43] Henry Renier, an old settler, told me of Indians coming south about 1876 or earlier by way of the Warm Springs country from the Snake river range east of Lewiston, Idaho.

Northern Paiute scouts use various calls in order to keep contact with one another, imitating the crow by day, coyote in the evening, and owls at night; unlike Klamath scouts. When these are heard, women and children take to canoes, staying on the water until morning. The screech owl is thought to call, kökzdē'l skiu'ki'u, who sent me? A thrush (skǫ'''lē) names who is coming, wl'mpis ɛge'pkwa, they are coming.

Klamath hunting in the Cascades might meet Upland Takelma from across the range. On one occasion (perhaps about 1850) a party of five or six was wiped out with the exception of a boy who made his way at night, arriving footsore at Klamath marsh. Those who fetched the bodies for cremation found that the Takelma had taken scalps, hands, and feet as trophies. Two of those killed were brothers to the maternal grandfather of my informant, Coley. A wife of this grandfather was an Upland Takelma woman, perhaps a slave, who was a sister to the Upland Takelma chief Tōktō'kli 'red). They killed her in revenge. She had been living among them at the marsh for years but had no children. The reciprocal raid can be reconstructed from Gatschet's information[44] and my own. The expedition was undertaken at the call of Lxle'ks, the most prominent A'ukekni chief and a distant relative of Coley's grandfather. Men of all the tribelets took part. Crossing the mountains on foot, they found the Takelma encamped in Molala territory at the head of Rogue river. They attacked as the Takelma rose at dawn, scalping many and carrying off women and children. Among those killed was Tōktō'kli, whose hands and heart they took. After the man was shot, Lxle'ks laneed him through the throat. Lxle'ks invited all the Klamath to a huge scalp dance at Klamath marsh. During the dances a wife of Coley's grandfather danced about with the heart in her teeth. The captives were dragged by their arms and forced to dance close to the fire.

A preparatory performance, called nl'kēba, is an indispensable preliminary to a raiding party. It can hardly be styled a war dance,

[43] Gatschet, 1:lxii.
[44] *Op. cit.*, 1:16.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

567 frequent and had slave-taking as a primary object. It is probable that the introduction of the horse stimulated predatory habits and made possible frequent trading visits to the Columbia river people. From them they adopted for themselves the practices of slave-holding on an enlarged scale and of measuring wealth in terms of slaves, and were encouraged to raid more frequently, and to carry their spoil to the river to exchange for the highly desired horses. Prior to the coming of the horse, we may suppose the very mild interest in holding captives found in any Basin or Californian tribe.

567 Most slaves (loks) are from Pit river (Aehomawi and Atsugewi);
• 721 others are Northern Paiute and Shasta, with a few Upland Takelma from the Rogue river drainage. A few of these Takelma are known to have been made captive on a raid into Klamath territory. The Klamath sporadically raid the Pit river people in spring or summer when the latter are scattered. Young children, women, and even men are taken.[60] Other plunder (du'ta) consists of blankets, bows and arrows, dentalia, and other beads. Captives are similarly taken in the course of feuds among the tribal subdivisions, and perhaps as freely sold. One informant had it that they are not sold but grow to manhood as foster children and visit back and forth with their own people on the friendliest terms. This view implies that they are taken and cherished as recompense for a loss by murder.

567 Slaves are commonly traded to individuals who make a practice of
437 taking them to Warm Springs and the Dalles to sell again. Such was Lxle'ks in his day, who, having got three or four together, would set out for the north to trade for horses and blankets. Some he would keep to treat much as his own relatives.

567 It is quite likely that a slave's life is much like that of any poor Klamath. They commonly live in dome-shaped mat-lodges set up beside the family's earth-lodge, and there the women are visited by their masters. How far they are abused or suffer from uncertainty, I do not know. Gatschet records the escape of Pit river captives while their captors were hurrying back from a raid.[61] When the agency was established by the government all slaves were freed, but most elected to stay, and of those who returned to their own people, some came back. Evidently they had not suffered from too harsh treatment; at any rate, by my informant's account, those who had

[60] Gatschet says adult men were not enslaved but killed if captured. The instances he cites bears him out (*op. cit.*, 1:24, 25).

[61] *Op. cit.*, 1:20.

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1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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II. KLAMATH SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

Klamath religion centers so largely in shamanism that it may be permissible to describe the whole in terms of shamanistic practices, the spirits with which they are concerned, and the acquisition of supernatural powers. There is little ceremonialism apart from the shamans' performances. There is a rite for girls at puberty, a dance in preparation for war and another in celebration of captured scalps, some formal feasting at marriage, and of recent date the Ghost dance of 1870.

The religion is only weakly developed. Power is sought from a host of spirits whose characteristics are not sharply defined. These are predominantly birds and animals, winds, lightning and the like, and a handful of anthropomorphic beings. They are however definitely localized in many instances and partly identified with the figures of mythology. But there has been no attempt to marshal the spirits into an ordered pantheon. Relations to the spirits have no ethical implication. The belief in a land of the dead, too, stands apart from the spirits and their functions. It has solely a folkloristic existence, for it little concerns the actions of the living.

Power is deliberately sought by almost every Klamath. There are times that are especially propitious; at puberty, in distress, or on the loss of a wife, a husband, or a child. The mode of seeking and the revelation are stereotyped: one fasts at night on mountain tops, running about, piling up rocks, or diving beneath lonely pools. Mourners at least must first purify themselves in the sweat-lodge. The looked-for response is unconsciousness, a profuse hemorrhage at nose and mouth, and a spirit's song revealed in a dream. The spirit is not the seeker's guardian and exacts of him no special conduct, no offerings, no venerations. There is only one obligation; he must accept the blessing and use his power once the spirit makes itself known. The power is motivated by the song; the song and the spirit are one and inseparable. There is little specialization of spirits and their powers: curing, gambling, hunting, love-making, and shamanistic trickery are fields in which any spirit may operate.

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Northern Paiute NR 13

K 301 length is "a little too much." The unit, according to one informant, is the length of the extended left arm to the upper end of the humerus, or across the chest in addition to the point of the right shoulder. The other gave the unit as a doubled string from the extended left hand K [436] to the sternum; that is, a fathom. One thing is clear, that there is no great concern for dentalia as money, as among the lower Klamath tribes. The strings are not standardized either as to length or size of the individual shells. Long dentalia are more valuable than the short, but my informants never knew anyone to argue over the precise length of a shell. Both men agreed that the several kinds of beads, or at least the best, are not worked by the Klamath, but come from the south. They are either found in raided Achomawi-Atsugewi camps K [721] or are traded from these people or possibly the Shasta. Both were [439] certain that the shells are not obtained from the north. This is something of a puzzle, because the Columbia river people have dentalia and [177] use them extensively in trade. Furthermore, the ultimate point of origin of the shells is the coast of Washington and British Columbia. [174] The discrepancy in the statement is further accentuated by the Yurok statement that the shells came to them both along the coast and down the Klamath river.[399]

K [789] Finger rings are not made, nor bracelets, except for young children. The cast skin of a water snake is wrapped around their wrists so that they will swim well.

K 302 Face painting is general, a daily usage, not confined to gala events, but more obvious at that time. The shaman's body is painted red [756] during his winter performances. Red is the color in general use, [822] white only at dances, and black alone in mourning. Those who go to war paint themselves red, not black, with their faces white. I have pointed out elsewhere[400] that red paint is associated with warfare by the Basin tribes and their Californian and Arizonan neighbors. Here it may be added that black is used by Plains warriors. At dances white pigment, found along the creek banks, is smeared on the palms which are then pressed on the face or on a woman's smooth hair to K [317] form patterns. Red paint is difficult to get. It comes from a few localities in the mountains near Crater lake. The Northern Paiute NP are said to have quantities of it, however.

[317] In winter women smear their faces, hands, and arms with a mixture of charcoal and pitch, or deer grease, or of pitch and grease

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[399] Kroeber, Handbook, 22.
[400] Havasupai Ethnography, 207.

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177 At least one minor element, assigned by tradition to this period,
535 was derived from another direction; the notched rattle used in war
534 and scalp dances in imitation of the Upland Takelma.

Direct contact was opened with the Upper Chinook at the Dalles
174 only after 1800. By this time Snake raids had dispossessed the
648 Sahaptins of central eastern Oregon, driven them north of the Columbia, and cleared the south bank of that stream by scattering Cayuse-Molala east and west. Direct contact quite across Oregon brought the Klamath in touch with the great trading center at the Dalles and revealed to them the superior and stimulating cultures of the Chinookan tribes and the semi-Plains groups from above on the Columbia.

174 The whole rise of the chiefs, the growth of social stratification
177 based on wealth, the concern with slave-holding, all seem to date from this time. Wealth began to be considerable: its form was new: horses
[556] and slaves. Chiefs grew in wealth and prominence over shamans.
[622] The basis of their selection changed in some degree from war to wealth.
[721] Slave-raiding to the south increased in frequency: the booty was carried to Warm Springs and the Dalles.

It is doubtful if the material differences in wealth and slave-
[567] holding existed prior to 1800. Shamans were dominant over chiefs and were but slightly more wealthy than the majority. The historic
174 tribal subdivisions were in existence, the village groups and their dis-
177 tribution established, and the basic social relations, as reflected in kinship terminology for example, much as we know them. Marriage may
[756] well have been by purchase, but possibly without the pseudo-potlatch
[622] custom of reciprocal visiting. Material culture was prevailingly
[619] southern Plateau in aspect, and religious practices, while more north Californian, had already some impress of the Northwest Coast.

[583] Is there a Lutuamian culture province? I am doubtful. Kroeber has somewhat hesitatingly posited one, set off by a certain distinctive-
101 ness from that phrasing of Northwest Coast culture found localized on
105 the lower Klamath river, and favoring rather the Basin and Plateau, to which the Klamath country lies open.

114 "The Lutuamian culture or subculture, as represented by the Klamath and Modoc, corresponds well with this setting. It reveals some specializations, such as its wokas and tule industries, that are obviously founded on peculiar environment. There are some northwestern influences, but rather vague ones. The basis of the culture is perhaps central Californian, with certainly some Great Basin or

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
1956. Down woven into	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
1957. For war, dances only	-	-	-	-	-	◦+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
1957a. Worn habitually by some men	-	-	-	-	+	-	◦+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CURRENCY, TREASURE																
Currency																
1959. Dentalia	R	+	+	+	◦+	+		◦+	●	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1960. Standard of value	-	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1961. Incised	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1962. Feathers on large end	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1963. Wrapped with sinew, painted like snake skin	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1964. Graded on finger creases	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1965. Counted	-	-	-							+						
1966. Measured in fathom and fractions of	+	+	◦+	+	+	+		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1967. Upper-arm tattoo for measuring whole string	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1968. Measured on arm, no tattoo	-	+	.	-	+	-		+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1969. Cylindrical purse of horn	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1970. Purse of horn fork	-	-	-	-	+	-		◦+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1971. Buckskin purse	-	+	+					+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1972. Cased fur purse	-	-	.	-	+	◦-		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1973. Shells rolled in fur	-	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1974. Shells kept in basket	+	+	+	-	+	◦+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1975. Long dentalia preferred	-	-	+					◦-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1976. Clamshell disks	R	-	+	◦+	◦+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1977. Standard of value	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1978. Manufactured	-	-	-	-	◦+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1979. Smoothing slab	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1980. Disks counted	-	-	-	+	+	◦+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1981. Short strings only	-	-	-						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1982. Measured around neck											+	+	+	-	-	-
1983. Measured on elbow	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1984. Measured in fathoms	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	.	+	-
1985. Measured in half-fathoms	+	-	◦+	+	◦+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	(+)	+	-
1986. Cased-fur purse	-	-		(+)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
1987. Buckskin sack for purse	+	-	+			◦+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
1988. Basket for purse	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
1989. Loans of shell currency without interest	-	◦+	+		+	◦-		+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Treasure																
1990. Olivella: whole shell	-	-	-	◦+	◦+	+	+	-	+	+	-	(+)	(+)	.	-	-
1991. Shell cylinders or Columnella	-	-	+	-	+	◦+	+	+	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+
1992. Sizes distinguished	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	.	+	+	.	.	.
1993. Bone cylinders		-	.		+	(-)	-	.	-	-	.	-	.	+	+	+
1994. Magnesite cylinders	-	-	.	-	+	◦+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1995. Imported	-	-	.	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1996. Haliotis-disk beads	-	-	+	+	-	+	.	-	+	+	-	-	-	.	+	+
1997. Large obsidian blades, used for display	-	-	-	-	-	-	◦-	-	◦+	◦+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1998. Manufactured, not used	-		-	◦+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1999. Charmstones	◦+	-	-	+	(-)	◦+	+	-	◦+	+	-	+	+	+	-	◦+
2000. Natural shape	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
2001. Most effective if found by possessor	-	-	-				+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
2002. Used in doctoring	-	-	-	+		+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2003. Animated; can travel of own accord				+												+
2004. Doughnut stones	-	-	-	-	-	-	◦+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2005. Natural shape	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

	KL	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2087. Feathers on stick handle	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2088. Number of cocoons	–	–	–	–	3	3	6	–	–	4	5	5	4	5	3	3
2089. Used by shaman in curing	•	–	–	–	•	•	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2090. Used by Big Head singers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	+	–	–	–	–
2091. Used for any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit										–	+	+	+	–	–	–
2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy	–	–	–	•							–	–	–	–	–	–
2094. Split-stick clapper	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2095. Single split	R	–	R	–	+	R	+	R	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2096. Multiple splits	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2097. Painted	–	–	R	–	–	–	–	R	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2098. Burned decoration	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2099. For girl's puberty dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2100. For war dance	–	–	–	–			+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2101. For Ghost dance	•	–	R	–		R		R	R	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
2102. For any singing or dancing	–	–	–	–	+	R	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
2103. Snake rattles on stick	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	–	–	–	–
2104. Deer-hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2105. Stick handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2106. On cord or thong, no handle	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2107. Worn	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2108. Number of hoofs	10	20	7	15	20	20	20	–	25	8	20	1	2	4	–	–
2109. For girl's puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
2110. For any singing or dancing	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2111. Basket rattle	–	•	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2112. Child's toy	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2113. Beads tied together, child's toy	R	+	–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–	–	–
Rasp																
2114. Notched-wood rasp	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2115. Basket scraped	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
Bull-roarer, Musical Bow																
2116. Bull-roarer	R	–	–	–	R	–	+	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
2117. Wood	R	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	+
2118. Bone or horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2119. Produces storm or wind	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2120. Produces sickness	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2121. Only shamans use	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2122. Only boys, men use	–	–	–	–	R			+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2123. For amusement, boys	R	–	–	–	R	–	–	+	–	R	–	–	–	–	–	–
2124. Musical bow	R	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+
2125. Hunting bow	R	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	.	+	+	+	+	+
2126. Separate instrument	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2127. Played with finger	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2128. Played with stick	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2129. Boys only						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Whistles and Flutes																
2130. Whistle	–	•	+	•	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
2131. Single hole	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	–
2133. Bone	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	+	+	+	–	+
2134. Bird or rodent	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	–	+	–	–	+
2135. Large mammal	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
2136. Elder	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	R	–	R	–	–	–	+	+	–
2137. Cane	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

		K1	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
622	2664. Fishing	-	-	+					+	-	%	+	+	-	-	+	-
	2665. Vegetable-food quests	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2666. Pine-nut trips	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[58]	2667. Orates at public ceremonies	+	-	+	-	+	%	+	+	%	+	%	+	+	+	+	+
	2668. Talks from sweat house, at dances	-		-					%	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	
	2669. Talks morning and evening	%	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	%	+	+	+	+	-
	2670. Moral lectures to children	+	+	+					%	+	+	%	+	+	+	+	
[62?]	2671. Settles disputes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2672. Pays or helps pay wergild	-		+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2673. Sets price for wergild payments			-			+	+	+	+	-	.	(+)	-	-	-	.
	2674. Sanctions killing of offenders	-	-	-					-	-	+	-	.	+	-	+	-
	2675. Concerned with war	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	%	+	+	.	+	.
[72]	2676. Declares war	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	%	+		.	+	.
	o2677. Goes to war	+	-	-	-	+	±	+	+	+	-	%	+	+	.	+	.
	2678. Negotiates for peace	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	%	-	-	.	+	.
	Escort																
[57?]	2679. Some 1 person accompanies chief on visit	-	-	-				+	%	-	-	%	+	%	+	%	-
	2680. Several men, youths, accompany chief on visits	+	+	+				-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	%
	Female Chiefs and Titled Women																
[56?]	2681. Female chiefs	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-
	2682. No male chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
	2683. Male chief also	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-
	2684. Sister, cousin of male chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2685. Daughter of male chief	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
	2686. Wife of male chief	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	.
	2687. Gives orders to men	-	-	+	%	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
	2688. Sends messengers with orders.	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
	2689. Substitutes for male chief in absence of latter	-	-	.	%	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2690. Supervises preparation of food for ceremony	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
	2691. Titled women	-	-	-			(-)	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	+	+
	2692. Sister, cousin of male chief	-	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+
	2693. Daughter of male chief	-	-	-			-	-	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	+	-
	Assistant to Male Chief																
	2694. Assistant chief	.	+	.	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
	o2695. Number per political unit	.	1	.	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
	2696. Son or brother of chief	.	-	.	-	-	-		+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
	2697. Advises chief	.	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
	2698. Substitutes for chief in his absence.	.	+	.	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
	2699. Provides money for public gathering	.	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-
	2700. Supervises preparation, division of food for ceremony	.	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	+	-
	2701. Lifelong office	.	+	.	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
	Criers																
624	2702. Appointed by chief	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	2703. Chosen at assembly of old men	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2704. Hereditary, paternal line	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
	2705. Ability basis of selection	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	o2706. Number per chief or headman	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	o2707. Number per village	-		2	%	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
624 2756. Attends to fire for sweating			–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
372 2757. Attends to fire for ceremonies				+	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2758. Builds fire for encamped visitors				+	–	–	–				–	–	+		–	–
Singers																
624 2759. No. male singers per village or local group	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	2	–	–	3
533 2760. Variable number	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	–		+	–
2761. Office lifelong	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		+	+
2762. Hereditary, in paternal line	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+
2763. Any gifted individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2764. Appointed by chief	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		+	+
[562] 2765. Female singers also	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
2766. Sister, daughter of male singer	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+
Dance Manager																
624 2767. Owner of sweat house (headman)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	(–)	–	–	+	+	+		+	–
535 2768. Hereditary office, paternal line	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		+	+
2769. Schedules dances	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		+	+
2769a. Urges people to dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+		+	+
2769b. Orders wood gathered for dance fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
2769c. Talks at intervals (prays) at dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–		+	–
WAR																
Nature and Causes																
Nature of Warfare																
726 2770. Intertribal wars	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	•
72 2771. Intratribal raids and feuds	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+		+	–
Motivation																
72 2772. War for adventure or plunder	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	
2773. War for revenge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2774. Common	+	+	–		–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–		–	
2775. Rare	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+		+	
2776. Intertribal murders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2777. Strangers from hostile tribes killed on sight	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	
2778. Intratribal murders, if uncompensated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+		+	
2779. Rape	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		+	
2780. Stealing women, young girls	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–		–	•
2781. Women, girls bought back, no war	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	•
2782. Insult or slight to chief	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	.		.	
2783. To avenge witchcraft against group	+	+	+	+	–	–	•	–	+	+	+	+	.		–	
2784. Intratribally, for poisoning of girl by suitor			+	+		–	–				–	.			–	
2785. Poaching	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–		+	
2786. By alien tribe	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–		–	
2787. By another local group of same tribe	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–		–	
2788. No war; merely run off intruders	+		+	+		–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–		+	
2789. Stealing stored food	–	–	–	•	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS	
Participants															
Groups Involved															
2790. Autonomous group alone	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	721
2791. Autonomous group plus allies	+	+	+	+	◦+	+	+	◦+	+	+	◦+	+	–	–	726
Combatants															
2792. All able-bodied men of group	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	◦+	–	726
2793. Sometimes only limited number	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	701
2794. Some men stay to protect women	(+)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	
2795. Neighboring groups, tribes asked to give aid	◦+	–	+	.	◦+	+	◦+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	
2796. Warriors or neighboring tribes "hired" for war	–	–	–	–	◦+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Leaders															
o2797. Chief or headman may lead war party	±	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	±	◦–	◦+	+	+	+	
o2798. Chief goes to war, neutral in battle	–	+	–	–	◦+	–	±	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
o2799. Chief stays home	±	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	±	+	+	–	–	–	
o2800. War leader distinct official, not chief	±	±	+	+	+	±	+	–	±	–	+	–	–	–	
2801. Selected by chief	–	+	.	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	
2802. Chosen at popular assembly	+	+	.	◦+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2803. Chosen on basis of competency	◦+	+	.	+	+	+	+	◦+	◦+	–	◦+	–	–	–	
2804. Holds office until physically disabled	–	+	.	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	
2805. Appointed for 1 expedition, usually	–	–	.		+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
2806. Shaman goes to war	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	.	+	+	+	–	756
2807. Occasionally only	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
Preparation															
Prognostication															
2808. Prediction of deaths in war	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	726
2809. By war leader, through dreams	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	787
2810. By shaman	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	◦+	+	–	–	.	–	–	756
2811. Dreams	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2812. Shaman tests contestants	◦+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2813. If man falls during war dance, sign of death	–	–	+							+	+	.	–	–	
Shamanistic Activities Against Enemy															
2814. Shaman sings all night against enemy, prior to encounter	–	+	+	–	◦+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	756
2815. "Charms" enemy	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	
2816. "Poisons" enemy	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
2817. Formulas against enemy	–	◦+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
2818. Shaman sings during fighting					•			–	–	.	+	+	+	–	
2819. Shaman sometimes hired to kill enemy; no expedition	+	+	+	+		+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
Practice Fighting															
2820. Combatants practice dodging arrows	+	(+)	.					◦+	+	+	+	–	+	–	
2821. Night before fight	+	(+)	.					+	+	+	+	–	–		
2822. In daytime	–	–						–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
War Dance															
2823. War dance of incitement	◦–	◦+	+	+	+	–	+	◦+	+	–	+	–	–	–	535

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NS
726	o2824. Held ... days before fight	–	–	2	–	–	–	?2	?2	1	?2	6	–	–	–
535	o2825. Lasts ... days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
	o2826. Lasts ... nights	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	?2	–	5	–	–	–
	2827. Part of night only	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
	2828. At or near village	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	2829. Outside in open	+	+	–			–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
	2830. Inside in sweat house, around pole	–	–	+			–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2831. Dancers abreast in row	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2832. Dancers in circle	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
	2833. Each person runs around	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
	2834. Carry bow and arrows	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	–	–	–
	2835. Talk to arrows	–	.	+					+	+	+	.	–	–	–
	2836. Shoot at human effigy	–	–	–	–	?	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[562]	2837. Men only dance	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2838. Men and women dance	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
	2839. Women carry feathers	–		–				+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–
[533]	2840. Women sing for men	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Painting, Headdress														
714	2841. Contestants paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	?
	2842. Red	–	–	+	+	.	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	.
	2843. Black	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.
	?2844. White	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	.
	2845. Face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	.
	2846. Arms	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	.
	2847. Body and legs	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	.
	2848. Stripes	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	.
[776]	2849. Variable patterns	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	–	.
	2850. According to guardian spirit	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	.	–	?
	2851. Head net	–	–	–								+	+	–	–
[30]	2852. Headband	–	–	–					+	+	+	+	+	?	–
	2853. Bone hairpins	–	–	–					?	?	?	–	–	–	–
	Procedure														
	Declaration and Manner of Fighting														
726	2854. Declaration of war	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
[721]	2855. Prearranged encounters	?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
	2856. Surprise attacks	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2857. Early morning, before dawn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2858. Scouts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	?	+
	2859. Use owl calls, etc.	?	+	+	–	–	–	?	+	+	+	+	.	–	
	2860. Hand-to-hand fighting	?	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
	2861. Shaman sings											+	+	+	–
	2862. Men killed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2863. Women killed	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2864. Children killed	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	Captives														
727	2865. Prisoners taken	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2866. Women: young	+	+	?	+	–	–	+	+	?	?	–	–	–	–
	2867. Children	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2868. Mainly	+	+	+	–	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2869. Women captives killed	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	+	?	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2870. Kept month or so before being killed	–	.	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	2871. Abused, mistreated	–	.	–	–				+	+	+	–	–	–	–

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deer, and mountain sheep with bow and arrow and dogs. The Modoc, who rely more upon hunting than do the Klamath, go out in small parties of co-villagers, then separate to stalk the game. Before the hunt they sweat to render themselves ritually pure. On the hunt, they may wear disguises and use calls to lure game. Only in the autumn do collective drives take place. Then Modoc men and women, sometimes employing fire, herd antelope or deer into a rude pound where they are dispatched. The Pelican Bay people of Upper Klamath Lake drive deer into the water near their village, where the women, waiting in canoes, kill them. Waterfowl are taken by men sitting in canoes, using nets, or they are hunted by jacklight, much as in fishing. Nets are used also to trap beaver, otter, and rabbits. When a hunter has killed one of the larger animals, he is expected to be generous in distributing portions to his friends, relatives, and the needy.

When the wokas crop is done, other wild seeds ripen, and the women move out to garner them with beaters, conical gathering baskets, and mats. For Klamath these seeds are less important than for the Modoc, and they withdraw earlier toward the Cascades, and particularly to Harriman, Pitt, and Huckleberry mountains. The Modoc linger in the lowlands to gather berries, then they too withdraw. In the mountains, only camas may now be ripe; but fruits such as the huckleberries, serviceberries, chokecherries, and wild plums especially draw them. These are gathered in large quantities and eaten fresh or dried for winter storage. The berry grounds, however, are attractive to others, and many a woman, preoccupied with a berry bush, spends her last mortal seconds in the realization that a grizzly, and not another person, is feeding on the far side. During this time, some of the men set deadfalls for small furbearers or venture beyond the mountains to hunt deer and elk with the Southern Molala. Others organize war parties to raid the Upland Takelma of the upper Rogue River Valley, the Pit River and Shasta to the south, or the Paiute to the east.

The gatherings, both at wokas beds and the berry patches, provide welcome opportunity for relaxation from the day's labors. Footracing, gambling with the stick-game or beaver-tooth dice, hockey, and other sports enliven the evenings, while the old people sit and gossip and young lovers advance their cause. The

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR10 Klamath NR10 •
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I was informed were sold for three horses each, some cheaper."[6] 000

In the changing conditions of the early nineteenth century, the Klamath were caught up in currents generated from without. The advent of horses and of firearms made it possible for the tribes of the east-central Plateau, the eastern Salish and eastern Sahaptin, to cross the Rocky Mountains, to hunt buffalo and enter into relations, both peaceful and bellicose, with the tribes of the Plains. As they came under Plains influence, the appeal of Plains garb, of parfleches and tipis, grew.[7] The Klamath were attracted to these new goods, and the clothing at least came to replace or supplement traditional forms of wealth.

K 175 177 648 [231] [411]

K [291] [556]

Moreover, the horse and the gun had revolutionized warfare patterns. Although traditional enemies beyond the Cascades were preoccupied with white settlers, on the east the Paiute were gradually developing mounted bands of great mobility and striking power. The Klamath and Modoc were not slow to seek the new instruments of war.

K M 175 177 726 231 411

The opening trade to the north brought a corresponding intensification of the raids carried south into the territory of the Pit River tribes—the Achumawi and Atsugewi—to capture women and children, Pit River bows, and other loot. As Chiloquin, one of the leaders of the time, recalled:

K M 175 177 721 •

> When the Snakes [Northern Paiute] made war on us that made us keen to fight other Indians and we made war without provocation on the Pitt Rivers, Shastas and Rogue Rivers, but they never made willing war on us. Those wars lasted a great many years. We found we could make money by war, for we sold the provisions and property captured for horses and other things we needed. It was like soldiers nowadays who fight for money. We made war because we made money by it and we rather got to like it anyhow. The Snakes provoked us to make war on them.[8]

With developing warfare and the accumulation of foreign wealth came a gradual transformation of Klamath, and to a lesser extent, of Modoc society. The forays into hostile country enlarged the scale of the war party. Chiloquin speaks of a body totaling one hundred warriors, which included, according to Spier, members of all the Klamath tribelets, and took in some Modoc as well.[9] A joint raid on the part of Umpqua, Upland Takelma, and other western tribes brought one such retaliatory reprisal about

K M 175 178 726

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River renegades had slain five prospectors on a tributary of the Rogue River, the whites apprehended three Klamath involved in the affair, "whom the Klamaths voluntarily killed to prevent trouble; that tribe being now desirous of standing well with the U.S. Government."[19] It is probable that the hand of Lileks is to be discerned in this matter also. In brief, his power and that of Chiloquin, often termed his second chief, was challenged only by Captain George, leader of a faction hostile to the whites, and by Monchnkasgitk, leader of the remote Upland tribelet.

Thus the frontier condition brought a heightened rate of intertribal warfare and of intertribal trading. It gave the Klamath both peaceful and bellicose exposure to whites, largely outside the Klamath homeland. In the awareness of new ways of life beyond the limited range of which their fathers had been conscious the Klamath of the first half of the nineteenth century became diversified in outlook. Enriched with new goods, Klamath culture prospered, although in comparison with the levels achieved by the whites it seemed poorer than ever. Warfare had consolidated power and wealth in the hands of leaders and the magnitude of their operations drew Klamath and Modoc into an uneasy cooperation.

Indeed, in many of these developments the Modoc participated only to a small degree. In disposing of those slaves destined to be sold at The Dalles, the Klamath and occasionally the Warm Springs peoples acted as middlemen; in consequence the Modoc did not come as fully under the influence of the Columbia River tribes, nor did they amass as much wealth. The development of a chiefly class among them was feebler, and the tribelets coalesced under a single acknowledged leader only tardily and incompletely.[20]

When in 1846 an exploring party under Jesse and Lindsay Applegate laid out an alternate emigrant route known as the South Road, they directed it from Fort Hall down through Modoc country and past the winter settlements on Tule and Lower Klamath lakes, then west of the Cascades and north to the Willamette settlements. The Modoc bitterly resented the invasion of their homeland and waged war against the wagon trains, a war which in turn brought reprisals from the settlers. In 1852, after the Modoc had extensively damaged several trains

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and manhandled some of the survivors, the citizens of Yreka, a mining town in California southwest of the Modoc country, organized a party led by one Ben Wright. Under the guise of a council, they met some forty-six Modoc, to whom they offered a feast of poisoned beef. When the Modoc, forewarned by a Warm Springs Indian, declined to eat, Wright and his followers shot and killed all but five of them.[21]

K M 175 648 721 •

By contrast, the Klamath peace party withheld their hand. As Chiloquin later recalled an event of that year, a party under Captain Jim Crosby pursued some of the Modoc in the direction of Silver Lake.

> The troops did not find the Modocs but at Oux-y [at the north end of Klamath Marsh] killed some Klamaths. They killed a few up on the marsh, some on Williamson River and a good many on both sides of Klamath Lake, but this did not precipitate a war with my people. Even if they felt like avenging the death of the people, they knew they could not contend against the whites long, for they had learned they were as numerous as the trees on the mountains.
>
> Below the Dalles on the Columbia River a Modoc murdered one of the McKays or one of old Tom McKay's friends,[22] The murderer made his escape to the Modoc country, but was pursued as far as Oux-y by McKay's friends. The chief Chim-tolk and my brother, Beaded Hat, who was a sub-chief, and three men pursued the murderer and brought him back to Oux-y and there killed him.[23]

K 175 648

For the emergent leaders of the Klamath, the maintenance of a consistent policy toward neighboring settlers posed problems of control. Similar difficulties beset the whites. From 1852 on, some men were accepted within tribal territory by the Indians as personally known and trustworthy. Wallace Baldwin, who ran cattle on land south of the present site of Klamath Falls, was one to whom Indians made gifts of roots, wokas, and game. Judge F. Adams in 1856 was grazing two thousand head of cattle in the vicinity of Keno; having made terms with the Indians, he was not molested. Wendolen Nus ranged stock in Klamath country in 1858-59, and, following a sojourn in the John Day region, returned in the 1860's to become the first permanent settler in the Klamath Basin. From 1857 on, the fur trader, Marty Frain, made an annual trip out of Yreka for the spring fishing at Lost River. Frain is quoted as saying that the Indians would be

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K 175 648 citizen—his office having lapsed for lack of authorized pay—denounced the location in a letter to Huntington, now Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon. "Drew . . . and his *Copperhead* friends, have already committed an outrage in the country, by locating the Fort in a place, where it entirely fails to accomplish the objects for which a post was ordered, solely I believe for selfish and factious purposes of their clan."[44]

Drew, while recommending that treaties be concluded with Lileks' and Old George's bands of Klamath, and with certain other groups, roundly scored these tribes as "a horde of practical thieves, highwaymen, and murderers, cowardly sycophants before the white man's face, and perfidious assassins behind his back". He annexed to his report a detailed list of hostilities in the Klamath Lake – Tule Lake – Goose Lake region from the opening of the South Road down to the time of his report. Following one such attack in 1856 which left at least thirty-nine fatalities, and in which the abduction of women and children was suspected, as he claimed, "the Indians of Umpqua valley exhibited an unusual number of dresses and other articles of female apparel," which they alleged they had obtained from the Indians at Klamath Lake".[45]

K M 175 648 • 721 622 Drew moved with dispatch. To the south, the long-standing warfare waged by Klamath and Modoc against Shasta and Pit River tribes had ended by embroiling them with the settlers. Suspecting the whites of having sided with the Shasta, who had slain several of their warriors, the hostile Klamath and Modoc under Captain George had, in the words of Steele, "commenced depredations by stealing the cattle of the frontier settlements, robbing travellers passing through their country, and uttering threats of murder and war on the opening of the spring." Acting upon a petition by citizens and a letter from Sub-agent Amos E. Rogers, Drew promptly arrested Captain George and summarily hanged him. George's troublesome colleague, Skookum John, met his death in the same action. At one stroke the bellicose faction had been decapitated.[46]

K 175 648 So draconian a measure did not pass without comment. In a confidential letter to Huntington, Rogers wrote from Jacksonville, intimating that it had all been planned beforehand by Drew and other Copperheads at a "turkey and champaign dinner" at

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under Blow and Link River Jack appropriated them as their own property.[31] Appeal to the Agent, Captain O. C. Knapp, proved fruitless; he only advised the Modoc to move further away from the Klamath. Captain Jack is reported to have told his followers, "I do not want my men to be slaves for these Indians, and they shall not be. My people are just as good as these Indians."[32]

While Schonchin was away fishing, Captain Jack overwhelmed the "friendly" subchiefs, Chief George and Charlie Riddle, and the Modoc left the reservation in a body. After reporting their departure, Schonchin joined them. There remained only a small party of twenty, who had been settled at Yainax earlier that year. Through them, Ivan Applegate contacted the absentee Modoc and persuaded Schonchin to return. When he did so, in the spring of the year (1870), he refused to rejoin the Lower End Klamath and was established instead at Yainax, home of his Upland Klamath mother, where Monchnkasgitk and the Paiute were already in residence. Evidently, the latter held the main voice there, for the following year—though only temporarily as it turned out—Yainax was made independent of Klamath Agency, "owing to the fact that these Indians had long been at war with those at Klamath. . . ." The change, "demanded by the chief headmen of the Snakes and Wall-pah-pe tribes, [was] approved by the chiefs and headmen of the Klamaths."[33]

With Captain Jack's refusal to return to the reservation, the veto of A. B. Meacham's proposal that he be granted a tract in the Tule Basin (as originally envisaged in the Steele treaty), and the decision of Meacham's successor, T. B. Odeneal, that the Modoc be brought forcibly upon the Klamath reservation, the lines were laid for the fatal flare-up of the Modoc War. The outbreak of hostilities found Allen David "very faithful and active in his efforts to preserve a good feeling among all the Indians on the Reservation, repeatedly visiting the Snakes and Scontian's band of Madocs [sic], advising them to keep quiet on the Reservation and have nothing to do with Capt. Jack's people."[34]

Fearful that the hostile Modoc would induce the Yainax Paiute and Modoc to join them, Dyar organized a home guard. At the Lower End, Dave Hill and Henry Blow swiftly recruited 32 men, primarily from the Link River band, while Oliver Apple-

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gate marshaled together 34 at Yainax, including Monchnkasgitk—again given the title of chief—and many of his Upland band, a number of Schonchin's Modoc, 1 Pit River, and 1 Snake. Soon thereafter, under the militia law of the state, Applegate was authorized to enlist a company of volunteers. The muster rolls of his company bear a total of 69 names, among them those of 28 Indians, apparently exclusive of Hill's scouts.[35] Despite the fact that when they enlisted there had been a distinct understanding that they were to serve only as a home guard, they soon were ordered to the front.

As Capt. Oliver Applegate found, the Lower End Klamath were reluctant to go. Schonchin took the position that Jack's men and the soldiers were both bad, and proposed sensibly to let them fight it out while his men guarded the reservation. Indeed, Lindsay Applegate experienced equal difficulty in raising volunteers among the settlers at Ashland, noting in explanation that, "... the nervs of the people aperse to Be shokt."[36]

Although they performed well, the reservation volunteers were something less than fierce warriors in a conflict that was not their own. Oliver Applegate, to be sure, reports that his men were eager to scalp one wounded Modoc and that on another occasion they were reluctant to withdraw from a skirmish.[37] Surely, they were no strangers to internecine warfare among the bands, infrequent though that had been. Fundamentally, however, this was a white man's war, for which they could muster no great zeal.

The hostile Modoc, though irked at the readiness of the volunteers to take the field, exercised a like restraint. When they captured two Klamath, they made them perform war dances in traditional manner, but did not otherwise mistreat them.[38] One Klamath was hit during the fighting, being saved from injury by a "heavy buckskin coat"—perhaps an elkskin cuirass. It may be that he was singled out, for as a guard at Yainax he had earlier fired upon some infiltrating Modoc.[39]

In the first frontal assault on the Lava Beds, it is remembered today that the Klamath called over to the Modoc and reached an agreement that they would not shoot at each other. Soon thereafter the Klamath were replaced by a party of Warm Springs scouts under Donald McKay, and the Oregon Volunteers

224 after ducks in the canoes. A few informants
868 said that boys give away for luck the first
duck or squirrel that they kill, just as they
[787] will later give away their first deer. The
hunting of deer and other large game is done
only by grown men, especially those who have
sought and received special supernatural power
[721] either at the time of puberty or later. The
art of warfare is another pursuit reserved for
the fully grown although much of the physical
training of boys is directed toward building
strong and fearless warriors.

CONCLUSION

861 The child learns much through the medium of imitative play in which he plays at being grown-up. A large part of the play is spontaneous, but much is inaugurated and encouraged by parents or older children who show the younger ones how to entertain themselves.

As the child grows older he gradually acquires the skills with which he must be familiar. The greatest part of this knowledge comes from accompanying parents or grandparents in their daily routine of work. Adults often explain how things are done, but they have no well formulated program of education. The youngster is often the one to ask to be allowed to perform certain tasks. He is praised if he starts to help at an early age and is given what instructions he needs to carry out the work in which he has evinced an interest.

There are a few aspects of the culture which the Klamath themselves consider important enough to warrant formalized instruction. These are primarily concerned with demeanor and conduct. Children receive daily lectures on subjects of this nature, and are scolded or whipped when they do not live up to the standards. Physical training, especially for older boys, is also emphasized.

In all aspects of child training, the most important unit is the immediate family. The father in particular exhorts his children to live correctly; but the mother, grandparents, and other relatives also talk to the children.

On the whole, it can be said that Klamath parents do not have a conscious program of instruction for children in the techniques of ordinary daily activity. They do, however, feel a great responsibility to bring up their children well in the fundamentals of Klamath comportment.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

177 bury their dead instead of cremating them, and commence to acquire a smattering of English. Indian superstitions, conjurers' practices are not abandoned before the white man's ways have wrought a thorough change in their minds; and a regular school attendance by children can not be expected before this stage of progress has been reached.

157 In his moral aspects the Klamath Indian is more coarse and outspoken [721] than the white man, but in fact he is not better and not worse. He has attacked and enslaved by annual raids the defenseless California Indian simply because he was more aggressive, strong, and cunning than his victim; his family relations would be a disgrace to any cultured people, as would also be the method by which the chiefs rule the community. But the passions are not restrained among savages as they are or ought to be among us, and the force of example exhibited by Indians of other tribes is too strong for them to resist.

121 The character of men in the hunter stage depicts itself admirably well 157 in the mythic and legendary stories of both chieftaincies. Low cunning and treacherous disposition manifest themselves side by side with a few traits of magnanimity hardly to be expected of a people formerly merged in a sort of zoolatric fetichism. There is, however, a considerable power of imagination and invention exhibited in these simple stories, and many of the ferocious beasts are sketched in a truly humorous vein.

Man's morals are the product of circumstances, and the white man who judges Indian morals from the Christian standard knows nothing of human nature or of ethnologic science. The moral ideas of every nation differ from those of neighboring peoples, and among us the moral system of every 000 century differs from that of the preceding one. The fact that the Modocs showed themselves more aggressive and murderous towards the white element than the Klamath Lake Indians may thus be explained by the different position of their homes. The latter being more secluded have not molested Americans sensibly, whereas the annals of the Modocs, who lived in an open country, are filled with bloody deeds. They are of a more secretive and churlish disposition, and what Stephen Powers, who saw them shortly after the Modoc war, says of them is, in some respects, true: "On the whole,

173 selluálshuk. Ndánnitaksni tamĕnŏ'tka; tiná nat káyak shenótankatk,
fighting. Three times I was there; once we not at all were fighting.
*539 kínkák i nat lúluagsla. Tchín at nat at gä'tak ndáni támĕnotk.
726 few only there we enslaved. So I, when we quit (fighting), three times had been there.

NOTES.

[197] 19. The long and fertile valley of the Pit River, an eastern affluent of the Sacramento River, is inhabited by several tribes of Indians who speak dialects of the same language family. Of the peculiarities of these tribes, Stephen Powers has given the first comprehensive sketch in the Overland Monthly, 1874, pp. 412–416, and in Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. III, pp. 267–274. The various tribes greatly differ in their physical and mental qualities. The Pacamallies, on Hat Creek, at the lower end of the valley, were much dreaded by peaceable travellers on account of their sudden attacks from an ambush. The Indians in Big Valley are a fleshy, stout, and physically well-made people, while the Hot Spring Valley people has become deteriorated through prolonged national misfortune. Against both of these the slaving raids of the Klamaths and Modocs were mainly directed.

[721] 19, 2. The raids were undertaken by the Klamaths and Modocs just before wókash-
[567] time; that is, in April and May. They had no other purpose than to make slaves of
[727] the females and children of the unwarlike, poor, and suffering Pit River Indians, and to keep them either at their homes or sell them for ponies, provisions, beads, etc., at the Dalles to the Columbia River tribes. Adult men were not enslaved, but killed outright if captured. Similar instances of suppression of weaker tribes of the West by warlike Indians who were their neighbors are those of the Kayuses on Middle Columbia River, of the Yuki between Sacramento River and the Pacific Ocean, of the Húpa on Trinity River, Cal., all of whom were, at the advent of the whites, the terror of the districts surrounding their homes.

[648] 19, 3. shläótak for shläóta ak; the Pit Rivers ran away at the *mere sight* of the Klamath men; ká-i tata siúkat, the Pit Rivers never killed any Klamath men. Both statements are exaggerations; Hill's own account and Toby Riddle's biographic notice tend to prove the contrary.

[727] 19, 3. nellínat, or nell'nat. When they had killed an enemy, they did not follow the custom of the Oregonians of taking the scalp. This custom is not found among any of the Central Californian tribes.

[193] 19, 4. hû'stchok-huya; by the suffix -huya, -uya, the action of the verb is shown to take place at intervals, or in a small degree. "They did only little damage by killing or massacring." Cf. shenótank-huya, 20, 2, and -uya in the "List of Suffixes".

[196] 19, 4. tû'm tát sa. Change of the subjects introduced by the pronoun sha, sa, in consecutive sentences, is sometimes observed, as here and in 19, 16; 20, 3. Hill often uses sha when speaking of the Klamath Lake men, where nat, *we*, would be more appropriate.

[193] 19, 6. Kitchkanin nû for kitchkáni nû (or ni) nû. Pronouns and particles are repeated quite frequently.

19, 11. Wúksalks is a camping-place distant about six miles from Linkville. It was not possible for me to obtain definite information about the trail followed most generally in those mids, but Dave Hill said that from there they went due south. He

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

Crow's laughter turned the human and animal objects of his wrath into stones,[6] the basalt outcropping which are today pointed out around the Klamath Reservation as evidence for the truth of the old tale. To summarize, while the culture hero was not himself a source of power for men, the forces at his command were essentially the same as those which every Klamath sought in a formalized quest. Although concerned with natural phenomena like winds, heat, and rain, Kemu'kemps was on the whole indifferent to the fate of men. Like other anthropomorphic or zoömorphic culture heroes, he became the theme of many tales, a source of amusement and entertainment in the aboriginal Klamath culture. But even though humor was present in the tales concerning him, he appears to have been regarded as real and with a slight tinge of awe. There is no question of his marked importance in the aboriginal culture.

To evaluate properly the Klamath culture hero in the modified setting of the contemporary society, attention must be paid to the religious modifications in the group since the inception of culture change through the encroachment of Anglo-American settlers. The Klamath were never drawn into hostilities with the Whites, unlike their linguistic relatives, the Modoc. Contacted sporadically by Europeans from 1825 on, the Klamath were ultimately drawn into a treaty with the United States in 1864. This reflected pioneer movements to the west and the growth of White population in Oregon. An enforced culture change began with the treaty.[7] There was as a result proscription of the shaman's ecstatic curing activities and an intensity of Christian missionization. Other introductions included a new technology, White education in reservation boarding schools, a new status in relation to an established administrative agency, and new concepts of property, society, and political tribe.[8] The result was in some instances chaotic rebellion, a resistance which took the form not so much of open revolt but rather of a half-hearted and often uncomprehending shift to new cultural values and patterns. The effects are observable today in the tacit rejection of governmental administration and external Euro-American social goals, and in the disorganization of society and personality on the reservation.

Klamath history is well known since the treaty of 1864. Like many western American tribes, the Klamath were ripe for the native messianic movements, the cults which promised a return to the past and implied expulsion of the European oppressor. An example is the Ghost Dance of 1870.[9] Here Christian

[6] Gatschet, pt. 1, 131-132. Some informants suggest that the name for Crow or Raven, Ka'ăkemps, is the same as Kemu'kemps. This is doubtful, of course. Parenthetically, many modern Klamath insist that there are no snakes in the Williamson River valley because all were turned to stone by Crow's laughter.

[7] Philleo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*, ed. Fred Eggan (Chicago, 1937), pp. 385-412.

[8] Nash, 1937, loc. cit.

[9] Leslie Spier, *The Ghost Dance of 1870 among the Klamath of Oregon* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, 2: 2, Seattle, 1927), 39-56.

9: Barker L-5 (1955-1957) 1963
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that Modoc said once. (28) They never forgot it, [their] doing thus, [their] killing the Indians wrongfully [lit. "badly"]. 539* 173

(29) And I have only related little bits of it. (30) But I know a great deal, but I am not telling all of it, however. (31)—How the Indians used to fight amongst themselves, always they fought even among themselves. (32) Even among themselves they enslaved someone's child, and sold it. (33) That much is all I will tell. (34) I have nothing else to tell. 648 [921] [567]

Introductory Note to Text 28

This text is a continuation of the foregoing by Mrs. Butler's sister. Both are part of a recorded conversation about Klamath history in general, and no particular attempt was made to formalize the texts into "stories." When Mrs. Butler had finished her historical narrative above, the topic turned to the Modoc War, and Miss Skellock began to discuss their father's role in that conflict. Rightfully, this text should include the remarks in English which led up to the Klamath portion, and also an explanation and continuation in English which follows it. Limitations of space require that these English parts be edited and abbreviated, however. 124 128

Introductory Remarks in English

"Our father was a scout in the Modoc War. He was with the white soldiers and went to those Lava Beds where the Modocs were." 539* 726 648 173

28. Recollection of the Modoc War
(Miss Irene Skellock)

(1) My father went there, to the battleground. (2) And he was with the white men. (3) And he was a soldier—ah—a "scout." (4) And they were falling on both sides of him, soldiers. (5) And if they shot one, the soldier behind him marched up to the front. (6) However, they never shot him. (7) And he, however, was afraid of seeing (?) those Modoc Indians only. (8) So he lived in fear, thus they said, and some of those Klamath Indians who went with him, they also were afraid. (9) And that's all I'm going to tell [in Klamath].

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 143]